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SOVIET NEWS
AND
PROPAGANDA
ANALYSIS

THE FILE CORY

VOL. 1, NO. 11, 1981



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SOVIET NEWS AND PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

BASED ON

RED STAR

(The Official Newspaper of the Soviet Defense Establishment)

FOR THE PERIOD 1-30 November 1981

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Soviet News and Propaganda Analysis for the Period 1 - 30 November 1981

Executive Summary

Russian propaganda and rhetoric continues to be inflammatory and threatening about all aspects of Reagan's foreign policy. This reflects Moscow's conviction that psychological warfare should be aggressive and offensively oriented. Some of the topics that the Kremlin headlined and underscored in November 1981 were:

- o Washington is planning for limited nuclear war in Europe.
- O The Reagan administration has drastically increased military spending-forming an evil alliance with the American defense industry.
- o Europe will be hostage! United States plans to deploy 572 new (Pershing II) nuclear missiles in Europe.
- o Dangerous adventures of Washington! U.S. increases its anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and military forces in the Caribbean.
- o Dangerous intrigues in Middle East! Bright Star maneuvers are designed to scare Arab countries into submission.

Soviet propagandists continued their aggressive campaign to drive a wedge between the United States and the people of Western Europe. The Kremlin strongly underscored that since the Reagan administration decided to produce neutron weapons and deploy Pershing II missiles, the people of Europe have realized that Washington is more intent on militarism than on disarmament or peace or detente.

Feature articles about American imperialism and military activities in the Caribbean and Central America appear frequently in Soviet propaganda media; however, this coverage increased significantly in November. Moscow headlined:

"Socialist countries criticize Washington's new provocative anti-Cuban campaign."

"Reagan is studying plan for military actions against Cuba and Nicaragua."

"Haig continues anti-Cuban propaganda campaign."

"Pentagon plans to create regional command post in Key West."

Soviet rhetoric strongly assailed "American intervention in Chad." Several long and blatant propaganda articles emphasized that "Reagan wants to send military advisors and arms into Chad. . . Washington wants to control the resources in that region of Africa."

During November, the amount of propaganda and inflammatory rhetoric allocated to the "arms race" increased by six percent from the previous month. A major thrust of Soviet propaganda bitterly denounced President Reagan's proposal not to deploy Pershing II missiles in Europe, if the Soviets disarm their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. Moscow insisted that "Reagan has resorted to propaganda tricks, lies and deceit with his latest suggestion for the USSR to disarm its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles."

It is strikingly evident that a major objective of Soviet propaganda strategy is to accentuate the basic fear of nuclear war. As in previous months, Soviet media continued to exploit all propaganda opportunities relating to a possible nuclear war in Europe. For example, Moscow headlined that:

"Haig says in the event of a Soviet attack, NATO military plans include possible nuclear war in Europe. Moscow does not plan to attack anyone. USSR wants to avoid nuclear war. The Kremlin has a very clear position, however Washington continues to procrastinate about disarmament talks. The entire world remains horrified by Haig's statement."

Soviet propaganda continued to underscore that Washington intends to spread the arms race into space. Moscow insisted that Reagan "plans to have the United States Air Force take over all aspects of NASA's functions."

Russian propagandists reacted harshly to the American sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Soviet editors underscored that:

"Washington is relying on the new military alliance with Saudi Arabia to bring the Middle East under its control."

"United States plans to turn Saudi Arabia into a major military base."

Soviet propagandists strongly assailed the activities and pronouncements of Admiral Long (CINCPAC). Moscow reported that "Admiral Long is trying to scare Asian countries about an alleged Soviet military threat in the pacific area."

Soviet coverage of events in Poland decreased in November. However, Moscow's interest and concern about the crisis in Poland was evident. The tone and focus of Soviet propaganda was directed toward reporting: (1) the anti-socialist nature of the Solidarity movement, (2) the strength of the Soviet-Polish alliance, and (3) the increased contacts of Western intelligence agents with anti-socialist groups in Poland.

Media coverage of events and activities in Afghanistan increased in November 1981. Soviet editors have seldom publicized the active participation of Soviet military forces in the war in Afghanistan. In November, the main propaganda thrust of a series of articles was that Soviet "advisors" and Afghanistan military train and fight together to defend the revolution. Moscow continued to stress that the USSR has an important and continuing role, and an obligation to provide assistance to build socialism in Afghanistan. An article in the major Soviet military newspaper assured "worried mothers that their sons stationed at military posts in Afghanistan are being well cared for. They are eating good food and sleeping in comfortable quarters," according to Red Star.

During November 1981, the editors of the leading Russian military newspaper emphasized that the Soviet people support the objectives of the Communist Party and will work hard to fulfill the new five-year plan. The armed forces are beginning "new socialist competitions" and will start a new training year. The Soviet military goals and initiatives for 1982 are to: (1) improve military readiness, (2) improve military discipline and morale (ideological training), (3) conserve fuel and supplies, and (4) improve specialized technical training.

The main focus of issues and subjects critical in tone toward the Soviet military did not change significantly from previous months. It was emphatically stressed that: (1) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (2) military/political training must improve political officers must influence all activities; (3) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and other supplies; (4) Soviet officers and soldiers must be taught to maintain World War II heroic traditions, and (5) new technology should be encouraged in all training.

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INTRODUCTION

The data in this report reflects Soviet print media emphasis and propaganda trends for over two years -- July 1979 to November 1981. During this period, more than 31,000 feature stories and news items were analyzed. The main purpose of this paper is to provide the reader with an overview of Soviet rhetoric and propaganda themes directed to Russian military forces during November 1981.

This report contains a summary of the propaganda themes from the Russian language newspaper Red Star. With a circulation of several hundred thousand copies, this daily newspaper is the official publication of the Soviet defense establishment. In particular, it represents the views and articulates the issues important to the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, which is responsible for the political reliability of all Soviet military forces. The Main Political Administration receives its guidance directly from the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The feature stories and news items that appear in Red Star are intended to provide daily guidance to the Soviet military political cadre concerning domestic and international issues/events. Men and women in the Soviet armed forces receive political instruction and Marxist interpretation of current events (foreign and domestic) on a daily basis. Red Star is used as the guide for political instruction; it contains the approved picture of issues and events, and outlines the nature of the hostile world to the Soviet military. Therefore, this report provides insights concerning the structured view of the events and the world picture as perceived by the Soviet soldier.

PART I - SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

In November 1981, approximately 27 percent of the total space in $\underline{\text{Red}}$ Star reported events and activities that occurred in foreign countries or were international in scope. This is about the same amount of space as in October and represents the normal range allocated to foreign coverage.

Selected foreign governments and international organizations that received substantial media attention in November 1981 are listed in Table 1. (Percent reflects total of foreign coverage.)

Table 1

Gove	rnment/Int. Organization	Nov 1981	Oct 1981	June 79 - Sept 81
1.	United States	38.18%	30.47%	28.16%
2.	West Germany	14.86%	2.89%	2.40%
3.	Afghanistan	4.97%	3.34%	4.16%
4.	NATO	3.32%	3.48%	2.02%
5.	Cuba/Central America	2.94%	0.37%	1.58.
6.	Egypt	2.76%	2.95%	0.91%
7.	Chad	2.39%		0.06%
8.	India	2.05%	0.21%	1.66%
9.	China	1.88%	3.22%	3.63%
10.	Poland	1.81%	8.62%	3.59%
11.	Saudi Arabia	1.36%	0.37%	0.14%
12.	Japan	0.94%	3.53%	2.23%

GENERAL

As a matter of propaganda policy, the editors of Red Star underscore selected national anniversaries, significant political events (in socialist countries) and "friendship visits" of foreign and Soviet delegations.

Red Star's increased coverage of West Germany was expected, due to the scheduled official visit to Bonn by President Brezhnev. In a series of feature articles, the Kremlin headlined the visit as "a most important event in international affairs." The following abstracts of articles expressed the tone and scope of media coverage of this event:

"An important event in international affairs! Brezhnev's visit to West Germany. German citizens have demonstrated their opposition towards U.S. nuclear missile deployment in Europe. The government cannot ignore large scale anti-nuclear movement. However, West German defense leaders still support militarism, confrontation, economic boycott of Socialist block. Hopefully, Brezhnev's visit will convince West Germany that only peace, detente and disarmament are important."

"West German government official says upcoming visit of Brezhnev to West Germany is a very important event. Dialogue between the two countries must never cease."

"West German media focus on Brezhnev's visit, and talks with Helmut Schmidt. Visit is welcome to West Germans who want detente and disarmament. Brezhnev is doing all he can to avoid nuclear war."

"Reporters from all over the world attend press conference regarding Brezhnev's visit. They receive information about the progress of the talks. The major focus of the meeting is to avoid suclear disaster. Brezhnev wants disarmament. USSR will support disarmament in Europe at Geneva conference."

"Brezhnev meets with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. They discuss Soviet--West German relations, international affairs, disarmament, U.S. plan regarding new medium range missiles, and the up-coming talks in Geneva."

"On November 24, Brezhnev completed talks with H. Schmidt. Both sides agreed to cooperate in further detente and disarmament."

"Joint Soviet--West German communique regarding Brezhnev's visit to West Germany. Brezhnev visited many government officials, including H. Schmidt. Brezhnev and Schmidt discussed foreign relations, disarmament, detente and so forth. Both sides emphasized the necessity for disarmament and detente."

"Brezhnev's visit to West Germany was headlined in newspapers all over the world. West Germany and USSR prefer detente and disarmament to confrontation."

"West German firms look forward to possible growth of economic cooperation between West Germany and USSR as a result of Brezhnev's visit. West German gas company signed a contract with USSR for delivery of 10.5 billion cubic meters of gas to Germany each year."

During November, the editors of <u>Red Star</u> highlighted the two-day Conference on International and Ideological Issues for Secretaries of Central Committees of Socialist Block Communist Parties. Communist leaders from all over the world traveled to Moscow to attend this conference. The agenda included discussions about Soviet peace initiatives, socialist block relations, and economic trade and cooperation. As anticipated, US-NATO militarism was severely criticized. The return to cold war tactics and the resulting world tension were also discussed. According to <u>Red Star</u>, significant emphasis was placed on the necessity "to increase ideological instruction and propaganda." Brezhnev participated in the conference.

Moscow's increased coverage of India publicized the new "tropospheric [satellite] communications net between the USSR and India." It was stressed that Soviet and Indian scientific cooperation resulted in another great achievement—tropospheric communications between the USSR and India. Brezhnev and

Indira Gandhi congratulated each other in regard to this achievement and expressed hope for continuing good relations. On November 20, a feature article reported that the Soviet Union and India launched BHASKARA--2, research satellite to observe the earth's resources.

UNITED STATES

In November 1981, the editors of Red Star allocated over 38 percent of the coverage of international activities and foreign affairs to the United States an increase of 8% from the previous month. During a 28 month period (see Table 1), the average allocation of print space devoted to the U.S. has been 28.1 percent of the total coverage in Red Star for all foreign states.

Soviet media and rhetoric continued to highlight the propaganda themes that the "Reagan administration is pushing the world into war" and the United States is determined to obtain world supremacy through military expansion. The scope and tone of Soviet propaganda continued to be insidious and inflammatory with respect to the foreign policy of the Reagan administration. Moscow headlined and underlined the following topics:

- o "Reagan plans to turn the space program into a military program."
- o "Washington is preparing for limited nuclear war."
- o "New U.S. Military Super-Program is aimed at obtaining supremacy over the USSR."
- o "Reagan administration has drastically increased military spending forming an evil alliance with American defense industry!"
- o Europe will be U.S. hostage! Washington still plans to deploy 572 new nuclear missiles in Europe."
- o "United States is the largest exporter of weapons in the world."
- O "Dangerous adventures of Washington! U.S. increases its anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and military forces in the Caribbean."
- O "Dangerous intrigues in Middle East! Bright Star maneuvers are designed to scare Arab countries into submission."

Soviet propagandists have consistently underscored the dangerous and provocative feature of U.S. military exercises in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. Consequently, during November, Bright Star '82 was strongly assailed by Moscow as an attempt to "scare the Arab countries into submission and allow easier access by U.S. Military forces into the Persian Gulf." Throughout the month, feature articles (in Red Star) headlined and emphasized that:

November 4. "United States plans large-scale Bright Star maneuvers in Egypt."

November 6. "U.S. plans large-scale Bright Star maneuvers in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia from November 9 to the middle of December. Washington plans to deploy rapid deployment units, special task units, carriers and stragetic aircraft."

November 10. "U.S. is sending air force and land force units to Egypt to participate in Bright Star maneuvers. Over 4,000 American soldiers will participate in the military exercise with an equal amount of Egyptian soldiers. Maneuvers will take place in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman. Washington is flexing its muscles in the Middle East."

November 11. "U.S. Forces continue to arrive in Egypt for Bright Star. Units from the 82nd Airborne Division will begin landing in Western Cairo region on November 14. Second stage will begin on November 15 and the third stage will start on November 29. During the third stage, American B-52s and Egyptian units will conduct joint assault operations. Military training will also be conducted in Oman, Sudan and Somalia."

November 15. "Washington begins Bright Star maneuvers in Egypt, Somalia, Sudan and Oman. Over 6,000 U.S. military personnel will take part in this exercise. U.S. mounted air attacks in Egypt near the Libyan border."

November 20. "Bright Star maneuvers continue in Western Egypt with U.S. rapid deployment and Egyptian military units. The goal of Washington is to increase military presence in the Middle East."

November 22. "U.S. DANGEROUS INTRIGUES IN THE MIDDLE EAST! The purpose of the Bright Star maneuvers in Egypt is to ensure that Cairo continues Sadat's policies and Washington increases its military forces in the region. Bright Star maneuvers are meant to scare Arab countries into submission, and allow U.S. easier access to the Persian Gulf. Since the Camp David talks, tension has increased in the Middle East—the Palestinian problem is unsolved. Meanwhile, the United States is increasing its military cooperation with Sudan, Somalia, Israel, Egypt, Oman and Saudi Arabia."

November 24. "U.S. and Egypt continue Bright Star maneuvers. Helicopters and bombers participate in air assaults."

November 25. "WASHINGTON IS FLEXING ITS MUSCLES! American B-52s fly from U.S. bases in a matter of hours and drop bombs on enemy targets in Egypt."

November 26. "U.S. flexes its muscles during Bright Star maneuvers. Washington tests the ability to react quickly to crisis in Middle East and its ability to fight in the desert."

As mentioned before, Red Star's news items and feature stories are carefully selected to satisfy the propaganda goals and objectives of the Communist party and government; consequently, they reflect highly negative views of policies and activities of the United States. For over two years, the United States has received an average of 56 percent of the total negative and/or abusive rhetoric in Red Star devoted to foreign governments - in November it was 77.3 percent. See Table 2 for a comparison of total space (hostile and/or negative in tone) allocated to the United States and other selected countries. (Percent reflects total of foreign critical coverage.)

Table 2

CRITICAL COVERAGE IN RED STAR

	COUNTRY	November 1981	October 1981	June 79 - Sept 81
1.	United States	77.30%	57.21%	55.98%
2.	China	3.84%	6.01%	7.65%
3.	Poland	3.69%	9.91%	1.17%
4.	Egypt	3.26%	3.04%	1.72%
5.	Israel	1.56%	1.08%	4.76%
6.	NATO	1.47%		2.57%
7.	Sweden	1.26%		0.07%
8.	Pakistan	1.24%	3.47%	1.59%
9.	Australia	1.03%		0.23%
10.	West Germany	0.92%	2.86%	3.42%
11.	Japan	0.78%	5.16%	3.86%

As in previous months, over 97 percent of the total space allocated to the United States was highly critical and/or negative in tone.

Soviet propaganda about the United States continued to underscore three substantive themes: (1) United States military and political hegemony - as a threat to the world peace; (2) arms production and development of military technology - the arms race, and (3) U.S. foreign military assistance and mutual security programs - as a threat to the third world. Generally, the propaganda tone and amount of space allocated to these three primary Soviet propaganda themes have remained uncompromisingly high and consistent for over two years.

A statistical view of major Soviet propaganda themes pertaining to the United States for a period of 14 months is contained in Table 3 (percent is total of United States coverage).

Table 3

SOVIET PROPAGANDA THEME	NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG	JUL	1981 JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	1980 NOV	ост
US Military/ Political Hegemony	48%	53%	55%	29%	4 5%	30%	35%	41%	43%	48%	40%	36%	32%	44%
US Military Budget-Arms Race	36%	30%	26%	48%	32%	45%	34%	30%	26%	31%	33%	33%	33%	25%
US Foreign Military Assistance- Mutual Scty	10%	13%	14%	19%	20%	21%	25%	17%	28%	15%	19%	20%	20%	23%
All Other	06%		05%	04%	03%	04%	06%	12%	03%	06%	08%	117	15%	08%

Soviet propagandists use every advantage to exploit events and/or media issues in the international press in its effort to portray the United States as an aggressive, militaristic nation seeking world domination, and on the verge of triggering a nuclear holocaust. This is the major focus and objective of Soviet domestic and international propaganda. It is apparent from the data in Table 3 that the principal themes used to exploit and articulate this objective are U.S. military and political hegemony and the arms race.

UNITED STATES MILITARY/POLITICAL HEGEMONY

It is clear from the data in Table 3 that the editors of <u>Red Star</u> continue to stress U.S. military/political hegemony (the Soviet code word for American imperialism) as their primary propaganda theme. During November, as in previous months, topics and events exploited in regard to this unending theme focused on:

- o The expansion and modernization of U.S. military forces and the provocative nature of U.S. and allied maneuvers;
- O The Reagan plan for limited nuclear war in Europe;
- o U.S. imperialism and military expansion in the Middle East and Persian Gulf;

- o U.S. imperialism in Cuba and Central America, and
- o Washington's anti-Soviet propaganda campaign.

Soviet propagandists continued their campaign to drive a wedge between the United States and the people of Western Europe. The Kremlin strongly underscored that since the Reagan administration decided to produce neutron weapons and deploy Pershing II missiles, the people of Europe have realized that Washington is more intent on militarism than on disarmament or peace or detente. It is strikingly evident that a major objective of Soviet propaganda strategy is to accentuate the basic fear of a nuclear war.

During November 1981, Soviet editors repeatedly accentuated that the people of Western Europe strongly oppose U.S.-NATO plans to deploy new nuclear missiles in Europe. It was emphasized that the peace movement is growing stronger. Moscow underscored that "U.S. and NATO officials say that (the peace movement) makes no difference. Plans to increase and modernize NATO forces will be completed according to schedule. Reagan officially stated that nuclear war is possible; then, when there was a huge outcry, he (and his henchman Weinberger) conveniently retracted those words. However, actions are more meaningful than words." The following abstracts of feature articles in Red Star illustrate the tone and scope of Soviet propaganda concerning this topic:

"U.S. and NATO plan to obtain military supremacy over USSR! Washington will deploy new Pershing II missiles in Europe no matter what. U.S. is heading towards extremely dangerous adventuristic activities. USSR continues to support peace and disarmament, but will not allow U.S. to gain military supremacy."

"Black book published by peace supporters in Ruhr region discusses thousands of nuclear weapons U.S. has deployed in West Germany."

"West European newspapers criticize U.S. Secretary of State Haig's statement about possible nuclear war in Europe. Washington will sacrifice Europe in a nuclear war. Europe must stop nuclear maniacs in the U.S."

"Washington and NATO allies are divided regarding the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe. Thousands of Europeans have demonstrated against new nuclear deployments. The European governments are not convinced that the U.S. has their best interests in mind. Washington has been delaying disarmament talks with USSR too long."

"U.S. is pressuring Norway to support nuclear policy."

"Washington is pressuring Italy to allow U.S. to build missile bases in Sicily near Comizo. Approximately 112 winged nuclear missiles will be deployed in that area. The U.S. will also re-arm U.S.-NATO nuclear arms in Italy. These winged missiles can hit Middle East as well as Soviet targets."

The statistical data contained in Table 4 below reflects geographical and country emphasis pertaining to the Soviet propaganda theme -- U.S. Military/Political Hegemony and Provocation during an eight (8) month period. (Percent equals total coverage of this progaganda theme.)

Table 4

	Country/Area of U.S. Hegemony	Nov 81	Oct_81	Sep 81	Aug 81	Jul 81	Jun 81	May 81	Apr 81
1.	Europe	25%	29%	42%	27%	19%	07%	25%	23%
2.	Latin America	21%	06%	05%	29%	11%	22%	05%	24%
3.	Indian Ocean and								
	Middle East	19%	13%	19%	25%	31%	25%	32%	31%
4.	Africa	14%	00%	02%	00%	00%	02%	04%	07%
5.	World Wide	12%	27%	10%	13%	21%	12%	27%	08%
6.	Asia/Pacific	09%	25%	22%	06%	18%	32%	07%	07%
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Propaganda articles about U.S. imperialism and military activities in the Caribbean and Central America appear frequently in Red Star. However, media coverage of this area increased dramatically in November (see Table 4). Selected abstracts of Soviet propaganda and rhetoric about Cuba and Central America are listed below:

"Washington continues to support bloody Salvadoran Junta by sending military and economic aid."

"Socialist countries criticize Washington's new provocative anti-Cuban campaign, and military buildup near Cuba. Hands off Cuba!"

"Reagan is studying a plan for military actions against Cuba and Nicaragua. This plan includes possible blockade of Nicaragua by the U.S. Navy and large scale naval maneuvers near Cuba."

"DANGEROUS ADVENTURES OF WASHINGTON! U.S. is increasing anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and military presence in the Caribbean. Washington is flexing its muscles near Cuba, another of Reagan's new policies which rely on pressure and military threats. Maneuvers such as Ocean

Venture 81 will become common. Current RIDEX maneuvers involve 40 U.S. ships, 200 aircraft and 2,500 marines."

"The Reagan administration is conducting a harsh campaign of threats and blackmail against Cuba, Nicaragua and Salvadorian patriotic forces. Washington is aiding the Nicaraguan conterrevolutionaries, and is planning aggression against Cuba and Salvadoran revolutionaries."

"U.S. is preparing for military intervention in Nicaragua and in the Caribbean basin countries. Washington wants Nicaragua to follow pro-U.S. policies. U.S. Navy may blockade Nicaragua to protect its vital interests in that area."

"The Pentagon plans to create a regional command post in Key West. This command would monitor and supervise U.S. military forces and activities in the Caribbean."

"Washington is preparing to mount punitive action against Cuba. The pentagon plans to conduct large scale naval maneuvers in the Caribbean from November to December 7, 1981. Over 40 ships and 200 aircraft will take part in the exercise."

"Haig continues anti-Cuban propaganda campaign. According to U.S. intelligence, 17 Soviet MIGs have landed in Cuba. Haig claims they will go to Nicaragua. He is trying to establish evidence that Cuba is intervening in Nicaragua with Soviet help. Nicaragua has denied Haig's slanderous accusations."

"Washington is trying to undermine current Panamanian government. U.S. is conducting anti-government propaganda campaign, stirring up opposition movements in Panama. In addition, the U.S. is continuing military and economic aid to Panama in order to get Panama to support its policies in Latin America."

For over a year, Russian propagandists have stressed U.S. imperialism and military deployments to the Middle East and Persian Gulf area (see Table 4). As noted above, in November 1981 Soviet propaganda media exploited all aspects of U.S. military deployments in support of Bright Star 82.

Soviet rhetoric strongly assailed "American and Sudanese intervention in Chad." Several long and blatant propaganda articles emphasized that "Reagan wants to send military advisors and arms into Chad." According to Moscow, "the U.S. supports the former defense minister of Chad who was an agent of the (U.S.) CIA. Washington wants to control resources in that region of

Africa." It was also emphasized, by the Russians, that "Reagan must cease this intervention, if peace is to be established."

Red Star's coverage of United States imperialism and hegemony in Asia and the Pacific decreased significantly in November 1981 (see Tables 1 and 4). Soviet propagandists strongly assailed the activities and pronouncements of Admiral Long (CINCPAC). Moscow reported that "Admiral Long is trying to scare Asian countries about the alleged Soviet military threat." Admiral Long stressed that, to fight this (Soviet) threat: (1) Washington must be allowed to increase its military presence in the Pacific Ocean Region; (2) Asian countries must unite against Soviet expansionism; (3) they must increase their military expenditures, and (4) they should participate in joint military cooperation."

Soviet rhetoric also strongly assailed "American anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda and lies." Several feature articles underscored that:

"From the very beginning of the establishment of Soviet power, the United States began its anti-Soviet propaganda campaign—predicting the quick demise of Soviet power. However, USSR survived, even through World War II. After World War II, Washington resumed its Soviet threat propaganda. No U.S. president ever understood communism, especially Reagan. Socialism has its problems, but it has a future; the United States would do well to learn from the lessons of the Soviet Union."

"Currently, Washington and NATO are trying to split Poland and the socialist block with heavy anti-Soviet and anti-socialism propaganda. However, Polish socialism will triumph. Socialist countries are united and unshakable."

"CIA supported Radio Free Europe and Liberty initiate a massive anti-Soviet propaganda campaign."

"In spite of U.S. claims in the United Nations that socialist countries are using chemical warfare in Southeast Asia, no concrete evidence has been presented to the United Nations. Washington is trying to cover up its mistakes in Vietnam, and is trying to turn attention towards the Socialist Block."

United States Militarism -- The Arms Race

During November 1981, the amount of space in <u>Red Star</u> allocated to the "arms race" increased by six percent from the previous month (see Table 3.) The scope and tone of Soviet rhetoric and propaganda arguments about the development and production of military weapons continued to be dogmatic and unequivocal. Moscow repeatedly insisted that Washington is intent on obtaining military supremacy, whereas the Soviet Union is the champion of diarmament and detente. A major thrust of Soviet propaganda was to literally denounce President Reagan's proposal (at the National Press Club) that the U.S. will not deploy Pershing II missiles in Europe, if the Soviets disarm their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. Communist propaganda articulated emphatically that:

"In spite of obvious militarism, Reagan insists that the U.S. is peace-loving and wants disarmament. Washington even generously offered to stop plans to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, if the USSR disarms all of its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles. This would not favor parity, but would favor US-NATO military supremacy. The Soviet Union, on the other hand really prefers disarmament and detente and wants to sit down to disarmament talks with Washington as soon as possible. Dialogue is important."

"President Reagan addresses the National Press Club. He says that the U.S. will not deploy new medium range nuclear missiles in Europe, if USSR dismantles its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles. He does not mention what France and England will do with their missiles. In addition, Reagan cites ridiculous statistics about US-USSR military parity. Reagan is demanding that USSR disarm in favor of U.S. military supremacy. The USSR will not take such a suggestion seriously."

"The Soviet Government and Party support world peace and disarmament, but Russia will not allow Washington and NATO to obtain military supremacy. U.S. militarism, and military buildup all over the world must be prevented. USSR must mobilize all forces and resources to establish peace. USSR proposes that Washington and Moscow renew disarmament talks, that the U.S. stop its nuclear buildup in Europe and in its armed forces. The Soviet Union also opposes American anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and its intervention in Poland."

"Newspapers worldwide report that Reagan has resorted to propaganda tricks, lies and deceit with his latest suggestion for USSR to disarm its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles, if Washington does not deploy new medium range nuclear missiles to Europe."

"Soviet government is interested in well-organized, positive peace talks. Moscow remembers detente of the 1970s. But since World War II, Washington has tried to establish world peace through military supremacy. Those who supported U.S. policies received economic and military aid. Washington has conducted a policy of worldwide military intervention, Afghanistan being its latest enterprise. Moscow supports peace and disarmament."

"Reagan's statements about peace and disarmament at the National Press Club do not favor the USSR. Reagan's propagandistic tricks are aimed at changing military balance in favor of Washington. Many American newspapers denounced Reagan's attempt to deceive society."

Some additional abstracts of <u>Red Star</u> feature stories that expressed the focus, tone and mood of Soviet rhetoric (propaganda arguments) about the U.S. military budget, who development programs and the "arms race" are listed below:

"Was a logatom is funneling large amounts of money into military badget, by-passing necessary social programs."

"Graeral Dynamics completed Ohio submarine for U.S. Navy."

"U.S. Navy is teaching dolphins and whales to execute military operations at bases in Vancouver and Hawaii. Operations include attacking divers and sinking ships."

"Haig says that in the event of a Soviet attack, NATO military plans include possible nuclear war in Europe. Moscow does not plan to attack anyone. USSR wants to avoid nuclear war. The Kremlin has a very clear position; however, Washington continues to procrastinate about disarmament talks. The entire world remains horrified by Haig's statement."

"USSR supports disarmament and wants to avoid nuclear war. Washington and NATO are to be blamed for the current world tension. They are increasing their military forces in an attempt to obtain supremacy over the USSR. Currently, they are modernizing ICBM's, bombers, nuclear arms, and medium range nuclear missiles. Reagan refuses to conduct disarmament talks. Finally, Washington is building a network of military bases worldwide. All these steps are exacerbating world tension."

"U.S. Department of Defense is preparing for limited nuclear war. DoD has established a fund for medical aid to the armed forces in the event of nuclear war. Over 50,000 beds in major cities have been reserved for soldiers wounded in nuclear war, these are evil preparations."

"Washington plans to spend \$220 billion for strategic Nuclear arms in 1982-1987, stealth aircraft and B-l bombers are included in this sum."

"Washington continues to accelerate the arms race and increase its military programs at the expense of the United States economy."

"House of Representatives approves bill for \$5 billion nuclear arms program. Washington is spending unprecedented amounts on nuclear arms production."

"French newspaper, <u>Liberation</u>, interviewed Soviet Marshall Kulikov, Chief of Warsaw Pact United Armed Forces. Kulikov insisted that Washington and NATO are to blame for the new nuclear war threat and world tension. United States wants military supremacy. The Soviet Union has deployed its SS-20 missiles in place of SS-4 and 5 missiles in order to meet the modernization program of NATO military forces. Claims by Reagan that the USSR has supremacy in conventional weapons in Europe are false. The neutron bomb is considered very dangerous because it kills only people—a pirates dream weapon."

"(The) Reagan administration has drastically increased military spending forming an evil alliance with American defense industry. Washington plans to spend \$1.6 trillion over the next five years on military programs. U.S. firms will build MX, stealth, B-1, Ohio submarines, etc. The U.S. arms industry is exploiting this situation, encouraging further military programs. SALT II is not in their interest. Their profits depend on world tension and the arms race."

"Members of the Reagan administration, such as Haig and Weinberger, came from positions in U.S. defense industries. These men have great influence on government and are acting in favor of American defense industry. Washington is also increasing military exports which will fill the coffers of the defense industry."

"Washington's stand for Supremacy! U.S. wants to destroy military parity with Moscow in order to gain military supremacy. In the next 5-6 years, the U.S. will spend

\$220 billion on modernization and up-grading strategic assault forces. Reagan is increasing military intervention and presence worldwide. NATO plays a vital part in U.S. global strategy. Reagan still plans to deploy 572 new nuclear missiles in Europe. Europe will be hostage to Washington. The Reagan administration admitted there may be nuclear war in Europe—to the horror and dismay of all European citizens."

Soviet propaganda continued to underscore that the United States intends to spread the arms race into space. Moscow insists that Reagan "plans to have the U.S. Air force take over NASA's functions." According to the Kremlin the Pentagon will control the space shuttle program.

Abstracts of selected Red Star articles that expressed the tone and scope of Soviet rhetoric about space are listed below:

"Washington plans to turn the space program into a military program, the space shuttle will be used for military purposes. Shuttle craft will help in deploying more spy satellites and other secret equipment."

"Pentagon is taking over space! Defense Department wants to launch more spy satellites and use shuttle aircraft for military purposes."

"Department of Defense is assigning a significant amount of money and other resources to build a variety of spy satellites."

"Washington plans to conduct arms race in space! The U.S. will launch more spy and other military satellites in the near future."

FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND MUTUAL SECURITY

In November 1981, Soviet propagandists continued to put less stress on reporting and exploiting United States foreign military assistance and mutual security programs. The amount of space allocated to this su'ject/theme was only 10 percent of total U.S. space (see Table 3).

The geographical/country emphasis given to this theme by Moscow for the months of June through November 1981 is reflected in the data contained in Table 5.

Table 5

Mi	ntry or Area Given litary Assistance Mutual Security	Nov 1981*	0ct 1981*	Sep 1981*	Aug 1981*	July 1981*	June 1981*
1.	Asia/Pacific	34%	33%	11%	31%	26%	24%
2.	China	30%	14%	18%	04%	30%	31%
3.	Middle East	24%	10%	42%	28%	24%	28%
4.	Europe/NATO	08%	34%	21%	11%	04%	08%
5.	Africa	04%	06%	08%	19%	09%	02%
6.	Latin America		03%	00%	07%	07%	07%
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%*

[*Percent is total coverage of space for theme.]

The major emphasis and focus given by Kremlin propagandists to United states foreign military assistance and mutual security programs are generally based on events and Moscow's perceptions of foreign policy issues.

During November 1981, Russian propagandists reacted harshly to the U.S. sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Specifically, the editors of Red Star assailed and underscored that:

"Washington is relying heavily on new military alliance with Saudi Arabia to bring the Middle East under its control. With the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia, the U.S. will strengthen its military in that strategic area. AWACS sale is U.S. version of the Trojan horse. The AWACS planes will not help Saudi Arabia as much as the U.S."

"U.S. plans to turn Saudi Arabia into a major military strategic base. Washington plans to increase U.S. forces and weapons in that area over the next decade."

"The U.S. Senate approved \$8.5 billion sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia. Reagan used all kinds of tricks to gain approval for this sale. These AWACS aircraft will most likely be used to spy against Arab countries, and not for Saudi Arabian security. Washington hopes to influence Saudi Arabia to support policies in the Middle East. The pro-Israel lobby did not act against the sale--obviously this is not an anti-Israel move."

The following are additional selected abstracts of propaganda articles from the November issues of Red Star about United States military assistance and mutual security programs:

"Washington is pressuring southeast Asian countries to form a military block. This block would aid the U.S. 7th Fleet in policing that region of the world. ASEAN countries are resisting this pressure. Washington is not interested in peace in that area."

"The commander of the U.S. 7th Fleet, Admiral Holkom, visited Thailand to discuss military cooperation and inspect military bases."

"Australia decides to buy 75 F-18s, 10 P-3C aircraft from the U.S., in spite of economic difficulties. Washington and ANZUS countries are increasing joint military activities and programs, especially in the Indian Ocean. Japan and Canada have joined the ANZUS Council. Maneuvers near Australia, such as Sea Eagle, Kangaroo, have increased. Washington wants Australia and New Zealand to send military units to the Sinai. Australia has indicated that it will support all U.S. policies."

"U.S. is sending more military units to Japan."

"Japan will sell military technology to Washington and cooperate with U.S. in building new weapons."

"Reagan may supply South Africa with nuclear fuel through third countries. Ethiopia criticizes U.S. intention to supply uranium to South Africa."

"U.S. and Tunisia form joint military commission. Washington will sell 54 M-60A3 tanks to Tunisia."

"U.S. military delegation will visit Morocco to discuss military aid."

"A large number of U.S. military advisors have been in Sudan for the past six months. They are training the Sudanese to use American military technology."

"Washington is increasing military aid to Sudan. Officials visit to discuss military cooperation between the two countries."

"U.S. continues to increase military presence in Sudan. Washington has sent C-130 planes to Sudan in exchange for the right to build bases for the Rapid Deployment Forces."

"Israel has completed building a new air force base in the Negev dessert with U.S. aid."

"Washington will sell 40 F-16 fighters to Egypt."

"The Reagan administration will continue to cooperate with and aid Israel. Washington will continue to send military aid to Israel. Israel has ordered an additional \$3 billion in military weapons from the U.S."

OTHER THEMES

Generally the Soviet press tends to report only those non-military events and activities about the United States that reflect tragic or bad news, or are inflammatory in tone toward the government and its institutions. During the past two years an average of eight percent of the space in $\underbrace{\text{Red}}_{\text{Star}}$ was allocated to "other themes"; in November 1981 it was only six percent.

The editors of <u>Red Star</u> provided its readers with cursory coverage of the second flight of space shuttle Columbia. Abstracts of the brief news reports pertaining to the Columbia are below:

"Second flight of Columbia shuttle is postponed one week due to complications."

"Columbia flight is postponed until November 12."

"Columbia is launched after a delay of one week due to technical problems."

"Flight of Columbia will be shortened due to technical difficulties. Problems may shorten flight from 124 to 54 hours. The Pentagon is upset by these problems because the military is counting on using Columbia in its programs."

"NASA announces that Columbia flight will be shortened from 124 to 54 hours. This is due to problems with the fuel system. NASA still calls the flight a success."

"Columbia flight is shortened from 124 hours to 54 hours. The shuttle makes a successful landing near Edwards Air Force Base in California. Astronauts were able to complete only the most important experiments. Ten years ago NASA stated that the shuttle program would be used for scientific and civil projects. Today, the shuttle will be used in military programs."

Moscow consistently publicizes tragic events and bad news pertaining to the social, economic and military/political subjects. Abstracts of selected Red Star feature stories and news items that reflect the overall tone and scope of "other theme" articles pertaining to the U.S. are below:

"U.S. B-52 crashes in Colorado, eight die. Military plane (A-6B) crashes near Virginia Beach, three die."

"Two U.S. F-15s crash over the Gulf of Mexico."

"A military C-3A crashed in the Mediterranean-four crew members die. An A-7E crashes in the Mediterranean."

"Dangerous accidents occur frequently in the American military. While loading a Poseidon missile (in England) on a U.S. submarine, it fell on the submarines deck from a height of 5 meters. Luckily, no harm was done. This and other accidents threaten the people wherever U.S. atomic submarines are docked."

POLAND

Red Star's coverage of events in Poland decreased significantly in November 1981 (it was seven percent lower than the previous month -- see Table 1). Moscow's interest and concern about the crisis in Poland was evident. The tone and focus of Soviet propaganda was directed toward reporting: (1) the anti-socialist nature of the Solidarity movement, (2) the strength of the Soviet-Polish alliance, and (3) the increased contacts of Western intelligence agents with anti-socialist groups in Poland.

The following abstracts of feature articles clearly express Moscow's concern in regard to the activities of the Solidarity movement:

"Jaruzelsky reports on the situation in Foland to Sejm. Strikes and confrontations continue to undermine the Polish economy and government. Strikes must cease if economic recovery is to be made. The Sejm demanded an end to the strikes. The Sovier-Polish alliance was emphasized."

"UPDATE ON POLAND! Threat of confrontation between the government and anti-socialist radicals continues to grow. Solidarity has organized a campaign of strikes that is undermining the government and the economy. Solidarity justifies its actions with the excuse that the government is threatening Solidarity's existence."

"CRISIS IN POLAND! NATO and Western intelligence agencies are increasing contacts with Polish anti-socialist Groups. Contacts between Western diplomats, journalists and Polish

workers and students are growing. They (the West) are attempting to influence the anti-socialist movement in Poland and to speed confrontation with the Polish government. The West is smuggling money and equipment to anti-socialist groups in Poland."

"Conflicts, tension and strikes continue in spite of the demand by the Polish government to end all strikes. Anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism continue. Polish patriotic forces must unite."

"Anti-socialist groups continue to undermine government and Polish economy. Strikes and tension continue. Groups like the Confederation for an Independent Poland continue to make unreasonable demands on the people and government."

"Anti-socialist course of Solidarity is growing. The secretariate of the Polish United Worker's Party denounced Solidarity's actions. It was emphasized that the Party will not permit Solidarity to divide workers and Party."

"Chief of Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, Marshall Kulikov, visits Poland."

Soviet media coverage of events and activities in Afghanistan increased in November 1981 (see Table 1). The editors of Red Star seldom publicize the active participation of Soviet military forces in the war in Afghanistan. In November, the main thrust of several feature articles was that Soviet "advisors" and Afghanistan military train and fight together to defend the revolution. Moscow stressed that the USSR has an important and continuing role in providing assistance to build socialism in Afghanistan.

The following abstracts of feature articles illustrates Moscow's interest and concern about the war in Afghanistan:

"Soviet officers help Afghanistan army units to defend the revolution and to fight counterrevolutionaries. Soviet officers participate in military training and political instruction of unit. Soviet and Afghanistan military personnel live, fight and train together. Their friendship becomes very strong. Soviets are proud to help the Afghanistan people."

"The Afghanistan Army successfully defends the April revolution, and is defeating the counterrevolutionary movement."

"Afghanistan armed forces defend country and the April revolution."

"History of the development of Soviet-Afghanistan friendship from 1917 to the present. In 1931 the Soviet government signed a neutrality pact with Afghanistan. After World War II, the U.S tried to use Afghanistan as part of their anti-Soviet build-up in the Middle East. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan signed a friendship treaty in 1978. Since then, USSR has played an important role in helping Afghanistan build socialism."

"Red Star assured worried mothers that their sons stationed at military posts in Afghanistan are being well cared for. They are eating good food and sleeping in comfortable quarters."

"Afghanistan denounces Western information agencies for spreading lies that counterrevolutionaries succeeded in taking Herat and Kandagar."

Soviet and Afghanistan military friendship is stronger. Soldiers hold meetings to honor the 64th Anniversary of the great October Revolution."

CHINA

The amount of space in Red Star allocated to China in November 1981 decreased, as shown in Table 1. The major thrust of Soviet propaganda and rhetoric underscored the "evil aspects" of U.S.-Chinese military/political cooperation. Other propaganda themes stressed by Moscow included: (1) Peking's policy of aggression in Southest Asia, and (2) military cooperation between Pakistan and China.

The overall tone and scope of Soviet propaganda in regard to China stressed the following themes and topics:

"Washington and China increase military cooperation. U.S. plans to buy strategic minerals from China."

"Chinese Foreign Minister Hua visited Washington to discuss U.S.-Chinese military cooperation. China wants to buy Red Eye rockets, Stinger missiles and other military equipment. Washington and China are united in regard to foreign affairs and world strategy. China wants to become a major (number one) world power and to accomplish this it needs to increase and modernize its military forces. Washington is being very accommodating."

"Burroughs sells R-7830 computer to China. Peking is planning to buy more computer technology from the West. China will use computers for military purposes."

"The Chinese government sacrifices its social and economic programs in order to increase its military forces. China will allow the U.S. to establish commercial enterprises in China, in return for military aid. China will also support U.S. policies in Asia and worldwide, especially against USSR."

"High ranking Chinese army officials visit Pakistan to discuss military cooperation. China is trying to turn Pakistan into a cooperative military ally. Pakistan is buying large amounts of Chinese arms. Also, joint military activities are being conducted."

"China sends high ranking military officials to Pakistan to tour Afghanistan-Pakistan border, and advise Pakistan military leaders and Afghanistan counterrevolutionaries. China and Pakistan increase military cooperation and activities."

"According to the Malaysian Foreign Minister, China is a threat to Southeast Asia."

"Chinese military forces continue their aggression against ${\tt Vietnam."}$

JAPAN

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During the past 29 months, Soviet propagandists have consistently allocated over two percent of Red Star's foreign coverage to Japan-in November, media coverage dropped to approximately one percent (See Table 1). The main topics of Russian propaganda continued to: (1) articulate the evils of Japanese militarism and imperialism, and (2) underscore the threat of U.S. military forces in Japan to the well-being of the people.

Abstracts of selected Soviet propaganda articles that revealed the content, tone and focus of Russian propaganda are presented below:

"Japan will spend over 520 billion Yen on modernization of military forces during the next year."

"Profits of Japanese defense firms increased four times in the first half of 1981 as compared to the same period in 1980."

"Japan will sell military technology to U.S. and cooperate with Washington in building new weapons."

"U.S. and Japanese military forces are increasing largescale joint maneuvers." "U.S. military presence in Japan is a threat to the safety of Japan and its people. Too many accidents have occurred. For example, on November 9, a U.S. Navy Orion plane dropped bombs close to a Japanese oil tanker near Sikoku Island. The Pentagon denied this report."

"U.S. continues to pressure Japan to increase its military budget."

CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The editors of Red Star have consistently provided a significant amount of media coverage to political/military activities and events in Cuba and Central America — See Table 1. Soviet propagandists react quickly and strongly to American statements regarding Cuba and Nicaragua. Moscow bitterly denounced the American Secretary of State for "encouraging a massive propaganda campaign against Cuba." Also, according to Red Star ". . . Haig on his visit to Mexico, used anti-Cuban slander to destroy Cuban-Mexican relations. Fortunately, his plot did not succeed."

The following abstracts of propaganda articles clearly indicate Soviet concern and interest in the Caribbean and Central America:

"Hands off Cuba! Soviet committee of war veterans criticized American threats against Cuba. U.S. is planning military and economic actions against Cuba."

"Haig continues Anti-Cuban propaganda campaign! According to U.S. intelligence, Soviet MIGs have landed in Cuba and Haig claims they will be sent to Nicaragua. Haig is trying to establish evidence that Cuba is involved in Nicaragua, with the help of the Soviets. Nicaragua has denied these slanderous accusations."

"Socialist countries criticize American provocative anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and military buildup near Cuba. Hands off Cuba!"

"Soviet military delegation visits Cuba on official friendship visit."

"A hall of Soviet-Cuban military friendship is dedicated at Western Army Headquarters in Cuba."

"(The) Reagan administration is conducting a harsh campaign of threats and blackmail against Cuba, Nicaragua and Salvadorian patriotic forces. The U.S. government is aiding Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, and has plans for military aggression against Cuba and Salvadorian revolutionaries."

"Reagan is studying plan for military actions against Cuba and Nicaragua."

"Nicaraguan army destroys another counterrevolutionary band in Siuna."

"Marshall Ustinov meets with the Nicaraguan Defense Minister, H. O. Saavedra, on November 20. They discuss subjects of mutual interest."

PART II - COVERAGE OF SOVIET DOMESTIC AND MILITARY SUBJECTS

of the total space in Red Star for November 1981, 73 percent was allocated to domestic news and comment about military, political, economic and social issues in the USSR. News and feature stories about the Soviet military represented 51 percent of the total domestic coverage. The space allocated to domestic politics and related subjects represented the normal distribution pattern for such Red Star coverage. A statistical view of major subjects about the Soviet Union for 14 months in 1980-81 is shown in Table 6, below. (Percent is total of Soviet domestic and military subjects.)

Table 6

SUBJECT/THEME NOV	ОСТ	SEP	AUG	JUL	1981 Jun	L MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	DEC	1980 NOV	ост
Soviet Military51%	66%	69%	68%	67%	67%	58%	59%	51%	43%	62%	54%	54%	54%
Domestic Politics10%	07%	03%	04%	02%	06%	10%	09%	13%	29%	05%	05%	15%	06%
Economy/Technology09%	06%	06%	05%	08%	05%	07%	10%	14%	12%	10%	12%	05%	10%
Society/Culture09%	10%	09%	08%	10%	09%	09%	10%	09%	07%	1 2%	11%	11%	10%
Foreign Affairs15%	06%	07%	05%	07%	08%	10%	08%	07%	04%	04%	12%	09%	14%
Other	05%				05%						06%	06%	06% 100%

See Sea Mail and Barrage

During November, the editors of Red Star emphasized that the Soviet people support the objectives of the Communist Party and will work hard to fulfill the new 5-year plan. The armed forces are beginning "new socialist competitions" and will start a new training year. The military goals and initiatives for 1982 are to: (1) improve military readiness, (2) improve military discipline and morale (ideological training), (3) conserve fuel and supplies, and (4) improve specialized and technical training.

THE SOVIET MILITARY

As in previous months, news articles and feature stories about Soviet military discipline, morale, military training and field exercises received the majority of space pertaining to military subjects (see Table 7). (Percent is total Soviet military coverage.)

TABLE 7

MILITARY/SUBJECT	NOV	ОСТ	SEP	AUG	JUL	1981 JUN	MAY	APR	MAR	FEB	JAN	1980 DEC
Military Discipline/Morale	39%	39%	36%	38%	41%	35%	44%	43%	46%	41%	39%	46%
Soviet Military Training/Exercises	29%	31%	36%	35%	34%	31%	25%	35%	32%	35%	41%	37 %
Soviet History/WW II	18%	20%	17%	17%	14%	24%	19%	11%	10%	14%	08%	08%
Military Logistics	05%	07%	04%	07%	07%	05%	06%	06%	04%	05%	09%	05%
Arms Control	08%	02%	04%	02%	02%	04%	04%	03%	06%	03%	01%	02%
Other Military	01%	01%	03%	01%	02%	01%	02%	02%	02%	02%	02%	02%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Over four percent of Red Star space about Soviet military subjects was critical in tone. The majority of negative and/or derogatory articles concerned military discipline and morale of the Soviet military - in fact, seven percent of the space devoted to military discipline and morale was critical in tone - this is a decrease of one percent from October 1981. Over 12 percent of the space devoted to military logistics was critical in tone.

It should be noted that the Soviet military political/indoctrination system (the Political cadre) uses Red Star as the basis for daily lectures and indoctrination. The negative articles are frequently employed as examples for improvement, and generally contain an "educational" message for the audience (and all readers).

The major focus of issues and subjects in Red Star critical in tone toward the Soviet military establishment did not change significantly from previous months. It was emphasized that: (1) teamwork and unit team spirit are important for morale and need improvement; (2) military/political training must improve — political officers must influence all activities; (3) a determined effort should be made to conserve fuel and supplies (in the Soviet military); (4) new technology should be stressed in training, and (5) Soviet officers and soldiers must be taught to maintain World War II heroic traditions.

Selected abstracts that reveal the scope, focus, and tone of Red Star articles pertaining to the Soviet military are presented below:

Emphasis on Conservation

"Military trade workers must focus on conservation of energy and resources, good food management, and (most of all) proper storage of reserve rations for winter."

"Political officers from construction department of the Soviet Ministry of Defense met at the Frunze Army Club to discuss conservation of fuel, supplies, and improving the quality and rate of construction."

"Models and examples of various military units that excelled in conservation of fuel and supplies."

"Officers must conserve energy, resources and supplies. Commanders must use time efficiently in order to get the maximum out of the shortest period of time. Tactical training must be well organized."

"Commanders must concentrate on organizing training schedule and conserving energy and resources. Past mistakes should not be repeated—they should be lessons. Experience of best units and officers should be used as models."

Emphasis on Training/Technology

"Headquarters (staff) personnel must help commanders to organize tactical training, maintain morale and discipline. Careful planning must go into tactical training. Staff officers must actively aid and influence training."

"Tank regiment fails to do well in tactical training due to poor leadership, poor organization of training, lack of strict and demanding daily routine, disunity of officers, unwise use of time, lack of competitive spirit and party guidance."

"Military colleges must improve scientific research work and scientific potential. Officers must be current in their specialties, must be able to create new directions in research. Colleges must organize effective scientifictechnological training and research programs."

Emphasis on Discipline, Morale & Political Training

"Krasnaya Zvezda exhorts other military newspapers to publish more material on the necessity for military personnel to know, understand and to obey military regulations and Soviet laws."

"A Krasnaya Zvezda journalist described people who live only to get imported furniture, clothes, china etc. One officer's wife insulted a guest who broke a crystal glass. What does it mean to live well? It is not to have a nice apartment, nice clothes and nice things. It is to appreciate life and people, sharing what you have, loving nature, having a communist approach to life. It is not wrong to have nice things as long as they are not the only things that are important."

"Party organizations must influence discipline and morale in military units, as well as organize, supervise and analyze tactical and political training. Political officers must keep close contact with officers and men, they must be able to understand the need and problems of the soldier."

"Party organization plays an active role in organizing and supervising tactical training. Party organization meets to analyze tactical training results, to pick out mistakes and problem areas."

"Officers and soldiers must use free time wisely. They can participate in sports, take classes, and become more politically active. They can also participate in those activities organized by the local officers' clubs."

"Dishonesty and cheating are not acceptable. Conflicts between commanders who are competing (in socialist competitions) is not good sportsmanship. These conflicts must be discussed openly, not concealed. In one example, two commanders lost sight of the goal to train their men to be the best, and resorted to unscrupulous tactics for the sake of winning."

"Party organization of border unit encourages and teaches the men to be always alert. Party organization organizes and supervises tactical and political training. Political officers work closely with commanders and men to maintain discipline, morale and military readiness." "An officer is punished for trying to cover up his mistakes and put the blame on another unit, so he and his men would not lose their reputation of excellence. However, his deceit was discovered. An officer must be a good example to his men; he should be honest, scrupulous and a good communist."

"Party organizations play an important role in organizing, supervising and analyzing military and political training. Political officers must be able to use their time wisely and meet quotas on schedule."

"Political officer on a Soviet military ship says crew supports CPSU. Crew represents 17 nationalities, but they are united and do their best each day to protect their country and excel in training."

"Military Party organizations must use elections and evaluation meetings to discuss process of and results of tactical training, political training, to evaluate commanding officers' performance of duties and discipline and morale of men. Mistakes should be lessons."

"Commanders and political officers must strive to be creative in fulfilling their duties; in military and tactical training; in conducting administrative duties. They should be willing to try new methods, take risks, and be innovative. Men must not become bored, they must feel the challenge of military service, and they must be kept on their toes."

"A commander is criticized because he does not consult with other officers, but tries to take care of everything by himself. Unfortunately, one man cannot run a base. Disorder soon takes over. In addition, this officer is absent much of the time. Younger officers that need guidance and supervision lose. Team work is vital in military operations."

"Commanders and political officers must encourage initiative. Men must demonstrate diligence, discipline, and high morale. Soldiers should complete their assigned tasks, keep their word, help each other during socialist competitions and military training. Officers must keep close contact with the men, share their expertise. Hard work and initiative result in success."

"Every officer must learn the importance of keeping his word. Keeping promises is an important part of discipline and morale. How do subordinates feel if their commarding

officer breaks a promise? they are disappointed, and have an excuse to break their commitments."

"Team work is a necessary part of successful tactical training. Those who excel in tactical training must help comrades who are not as good. A collective effort gets better results."

"Commanders must know what his men are doing at all times. He must know and understand the functions of his ship or his tanks or his submarine. He must understand the danger in a situation—whether it be a storm, a battle, or an emergency. Fearlessness is not the only requirement. A cool head, quick decisions, ability to take risks, and knowledge and understanding are vital parts of courage. Anyone can take foolish risks."

ARMS CONTROL--A SOVIET VIEW

During November 1981, the Soviet media renewed its propaganda campaign for "disarmament and peace." Articles pertaining to arms control increased significantly from the previous month (see Table 7). Moscow repeatedly underscored that the USSR will not allow Washington to obtain military supremacy. As noted frequently above Soviet rhetoric consistently emphasized that Reagan is more intent on militarism than on disarmament or peace or detente. The following abstracts of feature article in Red Star reveal the scope, focus, and tone of Soviet arguments pertaining to arms control:

"While the USSR supports disarmament and peace, Russia will not allow Washington to obtain military supremacy. The Soviet Union prefers to go by a peaceful road, nothing can justify the use of nuclear weapons. Therefore, the USSR suggest that all countries with nuclear power use it only for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union has discussed this many times at the United Nations and will continue to do so. The USSR also suggests that certain regions be declared non-nuclear or neutral zones; such as: North Europe, Balkans, Africa, Middle East, Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and Mongolia."

"The Soviet government and the CPSU support world peace and disarmament. However, the USSR will not allow the U.S. and NATO to obtain military supremacy. Reagan's militarism, military buildup all over the world must be prevented. Russia must mobilize all forces and resources to establish peace. The USSR proposes that the U.S. and USSR renew disarmament talks, that Washington stop their nuclear buildup in Europe, and in U.S. military forces. USSR also opposes U.S. anti-Cuban propaganda campaign and U.S. intervention in Poland."

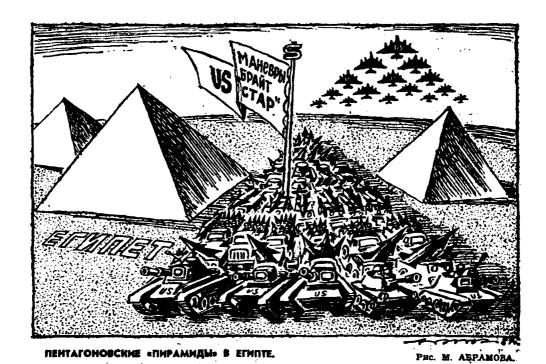
"United States and NATO plans to rearm only increases the intensity of the arms race. USSR supports disarmament. It is a better way to obtain world peace. Russia is a better way to obtain world peace. It is ready to cut back on nuclear missiles, if Washington will cooperate. Parity, not supremacy, is the Soviet objective. USSR wants North Europe to become a non-nuclear zone. USSR cannot tolerate U.S. plans to deploy 600 new nuclear missiles in Europe."

APPENDIX A

A Selection of Propaganda Cartoons

Propaganda cartoons are used from time to time to underscore selected propaganda themes. The following sample of cartoons are from the November issues of $\underbrace{\text{Red}}_{\text{following}}$ sample of cartoons are from the November issues of $\underbrace{\text{Red}}_{\text{following}}$ themes:

Cartoon Number	Primary Propaganda Theme
1, 2 & 3	United States Military/Political Hegemony
4, 5 & 6	United States Militarism - The Arms Race
7 & 8	Anti-Soviet Propaganda Campaign



Bright Star Maneuvers: Pentagon's "Pyramids" in Egypt.



In spite of protest by public, U.S. has decided to deploy its new missiles in W. Europe under the false pretense of defending European peoples.

Washingtonian match-maker.

Еспользуя грубый нажим, американская администрация буквально выбинала «согласие» некоторых западноваропейских правитемъств на размещение новых ракет США.

(Из газет).



_«НУ ВОТ И ДОГОВОРИЛИСЬ».

Рис. М. КУЗНЕЦОВА.

Using rude pressure, U.S. administration has literally forced several W. European countries to agree to the deployment of new U.S. missiles.

O.K., then its a deal!



The unrestrained arms race, brought about by U.S., is causing greater economic problems in U.S.

Can legs hold out on that kind of road?



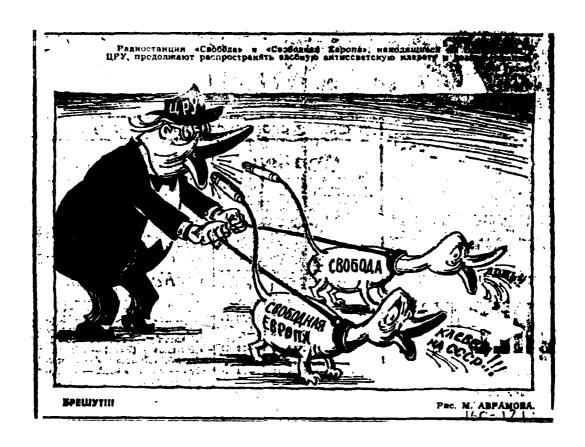
Attempt by Washington to carry out nuclear rearming of NATO allies will have fatal consequences for peace and security in Europe.

Overseas monument and European foundation.



U.S. administration is justifying unprecedented arms race with the necessary to close so-called "window of vulnerability" in U.S. defense.

This project suits me completely.



Radio liberty and Radio Free Europe, supported by CIA, continue to spread evil anti-soviet slander and disinformation.



They predicted . . .

They discredited . . .

They predicted the death of the motherland . . .

Enemies flung themselves rashly at our Soviet Home of Peace. Whoever attacked us with the sword, died by the sword!

Both occupiers and fortune tellers have long been defeated in the scuffle.

But, once again a foreign horde is shamelessly threatening with a sword . . .

Warriors and prophets, remember the lessons.

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